593 +621 important in the organization of village life as ties between male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 601 Males consider their role as sister's protector with some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwä, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 561 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

* 621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed * [628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other * 621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawë of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

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591 full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

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622 The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kpobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadana, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kpobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Madeaiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kpobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kpobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kpobawë's nephew, Bkotawë, 18 years old.

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591 Kpobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kpobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I asked Kpobawë what he had done about it. He said he had spoken to Shiiwima, but the matter then rested with him: "He will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ultimately had to resort to my own means to recover the flashlight, as Kpobawë could not force Shiiwima to return it. When I questioned Kpobawë about this ineffectiveness, he explained: "Shiiwima is already fierce and I can not order him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scraping up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy preparing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing. Kpobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if Kpobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this regard implies that one is being bossed around.

Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
613 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
583 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrDo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
: 56 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•__	•__	•••	••_	•__

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

602 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this
*561 fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the
*621 strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few
*622 observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [606] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village.
*628 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical
*621 relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas
602 agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two
583 historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

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Upper Bisasi-teri, and Lower Bisasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hee* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hee* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hee* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hee* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3-5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

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TABLE 3–1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisasi-teri (Kaobawë's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

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only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3–1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

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Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharariwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharariwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharariwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with